/7 cont./

621 the harvests of all on the appointed days, and collect the taxes
622 on the lands of the culibal, which they take to the seat of the
[651] municipality of Ocosingo, from which Cancuc depends in the capacity of municipal agency. An order given by a chief is obeyed without discussion by all the members of the correspond-
[614] ing culibal. The men of each culibal participate in the local government in equal number and category, just as also in the filling of religious positions, the clans always taking turns.

/8/ Kinship System

601 Below we shall see the kinship system, intimately related to the social organization based on exogamous patrilineal clans.

601 •128 Kinship Terms of Cancuc*

*This list presents the kinship terms with their significant primaries /Sp. primarios/. Some have the possessive prefix of the first person, but we have preferred to retain this form because this is how they are obtained in the genealogies and how they are heard in the common language in the forms of usage and because we use the charts of EGO, which are the ones of more common use. Due to the lack of printing types representing the phonemic signs, we have chosen the Spanish orthography.

601
bankil . . . . . a man's older brother
xibel . . . . . a woman's older brother
uix . . . . . older sister; father's sister
kitsín . . . . . younger siblings of both sexes
tat . . . . . father
me . . . . . mother
nichán . . . . . a man's children
kaal . . . . . a woman's children

3:Naah E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P.456-B] Teklum

ceeded along two lines of enquiry. First, I have analyzed the circumstances surrounding the deaths in as many cases as my informants could remember. Variations in the components of homicidal acts—the setting, agents, purpose, and outcome—suggested the different assumptions underlying each case. Secondly, I have correlated the different kinds of homicide with structural and organizational changes in the community. The analysis of cases in Section I summarizes the patterned components of behavior. The social environment providing the cues to the actors is explored in Section II.

I. THE PATTERNED COMPONENTS OF 37 HOMICIDE CASES[3]

The following tabulations and discussion are based on the 37 cases presented in Table 1.

Who Is Killed

Sex:	all male	
Age:	18–22	5
	27–30	7
	34–38	7
	42–48	8
	50	3
	60	2
	65	2
	70	2
	??	1
Occupation:	curer	8
	political leader	1
	farmer	28

One-half the total number of killings occurred to those between the ages of 34 to 50. However, as the six victims aged 60 and over indicate, survival to a late age does not ensure that one will die a nonviolent death. The age of the victim may be correlated with motive, insofar as some events leading to conflict occur only at certain times in the life cycle. Thus, betrothal conflicts involved only young men, while victims accused of witchcraft were older: 27 was the age of the youngest, and 16 out of the 18 men killed as witches were over 34. Cattle theft, on the other hand, occurred throughout the age range.

Eight of the victims—more than one-fifth of them—were curers, a much higher proportion than their share in the total population, for there are only about a dozen now living in the town center of 1,900.

There is a personality type recognized by the community as distinctive of those who "get

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P. 463-A] Teklum

cept the verdict or to avenge the killing.

In selecting a single motive in categorizing the killer and the reason for his act, I have distorted reality more than in the other tabulations. Motivations include both the instrumental reason and the rationalization for the act. The complexity of motivation is correlated with the multiplicity of social ties existing between any two people. For example, when a man shoots his father for failure to provide him with his bride price, but feels justified and expects social approval because his mother on her deathbed accused the father of having provoked her illness by witchcraft (case 36, Table 1), it is impossible to assign a single primary cause. However, in order to correlate the factors of agent and motive, I have been forced to select only a single feature in categorizing them.

In one-half of all the cases reported, the motive attributed for homicide is suspicion of witchcraft. (Whether or not witchcraft is ever practiced here is irrelevant since men act in terms of their interpretation of an event, not of the event itself.) Almost all sickness in the community is believed to be caused by witchcraft (the term for witch and witchcraft, *ʔak'ʔomel*, means "giver of sickness"). The family of a sick person consults the local curers, who pulse the patient. The witch "has left his signature in the blood" of the patient, and by pulsing him the curer can "hear and feel" who the witch is. His procedure is to ask the patient to tell what troubles he has had with his neighbors and relatives, and as the patient recites the names of the people with whom he has had conflict, the pulse jumps. As in the use of the lie detector, this indicates where there is high affect; in Teklum it is interpreted as positive indicator of the guilty person, the witch. If the curer gets drunk enough, he may reveal the name of the witch, but he usually prefers not to—I know of at least three cases, one of which is reported here, in which the man who announced the name of the witch was killed by the person he accused. The family may then check the consultation with curers in neighboring towns or even in the departmental capital. Since these distant curers are not inhibited by fear of the witch, they name the guilty one. The family, or the patient, may broadcast their suspicions, even announcing the consultation over the loudspeakers in the local liquor shops. If the patient dies, a member of the family may act on

3:Naah E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P.465-A] Teklum

682 178 121 626 only a rise in the tensions that provoke conflict, but an undermining of the social-control mechanisms for channeling them. The perception of these changes by the members of the society makes for shifts in the individual calculi, grossly measured in changes in the rate of behavior. In order to understand the interrelated problems of the sources of the increasing tensions and the reasons homicide is chosen as a means of resolving them, I have reconstructed the course of social change in the period from 1935 to 1965.

[128]

178 556 *Increasing Social Tensions*

New economic enterprises have increased wealth differences in the community. The best measure of this is in the increase in cattle-holding, which is a socially approved way of spending money. Twenty-five years ago, there were only a half-dozen men with cattle, and they had only one or two head each. Today, 178 233 556 one of the herders in the community has 200 head of cattle, and 75 percent of the households have one or more each.

Cattle-herding is a "new" industry in the sense that instead of just having a team of oxen to help with agricultural labor, men are 233 685 breeding cattle for profit. Because the cattle roam freely, there is much loss, and this leads to accusations of theft. I have never heard such accusations directed against anyone outside the community; crime as well as positive moral relationships is confined within the 682 685 [474] boundaries of this corporate community. Suspected cattle thieves are killed by the cattle-owner or by a killer hired by the cooperative of cattle-owners. Such killings account for six of the 37 cases analyzed above (Table 1).

178 274 The illicit distilling of liquor has also added to the town's prosperity. The liquor industry was introduced about 15 years ago, but the number of distillers has increased from 5 to 40 [438] [439] in the last five years. From an enterprise formerly meeting only local market needs, contraband liquor is now sold as far away as the coastal area and across the border in 274 474 Guatemala. A cooperative of distillers has reduced the frictions that immediately followed the introduction of liquor-distilling. The cooperative pays the fines of any member caught distilling, and in addition threatens to use group action against informers, who were formerly tempted to earn the 200 pesos offered by federal agents. But the envy aroused by the [578] sight of those who profit from this enterprise,

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Teklum

[P. 466-A]

625 The "police force", made up of ten
626 Indians of the town who served without pay for a year, acted as errand boys more than as guardians of public safety. The townspeople conformed to the cultural code of behavior because of a sense that their welfare was being cared for.

626 More recently, the breakdown of certain
178 structural features and competition between
75 new and old leaders have undermined non-
violent methods for the maintenance of social
● [128] control. These changes will be discussed in terms of (1) the organization of the curing profession, (2) conflict between the curers and the civil authority, and (3) how both the curing profession and the civil authority are affected by the breakdown of the old dual division of the town.

[124] (1) *Organization of the curing profession.* Perception of structural changes in the curing profession and their effect on attitudes are indicated in the following statement by an informant:

> Formerly there were not many curers. Only two—one in the low side and the other in the high side. They alone spoke together. They walked every night, looking and watching over the pueblo to see that no illness was brought in, checking to see who was bringing it and to see if there was any illness of God [reference to contagious diseases]. They saw which of the children had a soul [974] [reference to the third soul, the swayohel or animal spirit, which gives the power to cure and to do evil].
>
> If anyone wanted to be cured, they bathed them, cured them, and in a little while people got better because there was good illness only. If later on it turned into a disease of the devil, with their animal spirit they seized the force of the illness.
>
> When there was a contagious disease, and a witch "brought heat," and the children began to die, the two curers alone consulted and waited to see who had brought the evil and where they lived. One of them went to the town hall and gave an account of the fact that they had taken care of the evil and gotten rid of it. It was not necessary to gather together the pueblo—only the two knew what was the matter and how to care for it.
>
> The [two] leader curers of each section [*stätal ʔuʔuletik*] alone ordered other curers. No one else could enter curing until permitted by the leaders. They continued in power until they died, and then one of the younger curers took over.
>
> Beginning in 1940, more curers started to enter on their own accord. The elder curer had died, and his successor was not recognized. People saw that someone could pulse, and so they would ask him to cure.
>
> Now when there is an epidemic, the president

3:Naah E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Teklum
[P.469-B]

leaders, both in the civil authority and in the curing profession. The transition from the old hierarchy of control to the new leadership structure is still in process. In the most recent confrontation of the civil authority and curers, the fact that neither side resorted to violence suggests the transitional nature of homicide as a solution in intracommunal conflict.

This study of homicide indicates that the changing rate of behavior points to structural change, but does not in itself indicate what kind of change occurs or from what motives it stems. Qualitative case analysis related to structural changes within the recall of informants is essential for understanding social process.

[121]

NOTES

[1] Field work is based on two periods of residence in the community in 1964 and 1965; it was supported by the National Institute of Mental [illegible]lth. I am grateful for comments by Paul Friedrich, Richard Henderson, Harold Scheffler, and Peter Wilson, who have improved the original version read at the 1965 meetings of the American Anthropological Association. I remain responsible for the contents of the paper.

[2] Henry and Short (1954:18) analyze both suicide and homicide as undifferentiated aggressive reactions to frustration, the rates of which vary —in the first case inversely and in the second case directly— with the strength of the external control system over behavior. Their assumption that homicide is motivationally a single phenomenon, and not an expression of a variety of motives, stems from the assumption that all cases of aggressive acts are the result of frustration. Straus and Straus (1964:587) apply a similar correlational analysis of homicide and suicide rates with structural features of society in Ceylon, but come to opposite conclusions. They maintain that one would expect greater evidence of homicide in a "loosely structured society," by which they mean one with considerable sanctioning of variation in individual behavior. These studies contradict each other in the conclusions that they reach by similar analytical processes, but they are attempts to move away from such psychoanalytic reasoning as the death-wish theory.

[3] Bohannan's (1960) survey of homicide and suicide in African societies represents a useful model for comparing the total pattern of homicide cross-culturally. In presenting the case material here, I have used a similar format, adding to it the circumstances surrounding the killing. In the analysis of these materials, I have diverged from Bohannan's model in trying to demonstrate the linkage among the components —the ration, to use Burke's (1945) terminology of scene/setting/actor/agent.

[4] The term "witch" is a translation of the Tzeltal term *Pak'-lamal*, literally "giver of sickness." The term "curer" is a translation of *Pa'pal*. The power to cure and to give sickness stems from the possession of a *muyuhal*, or animal spirit.

[5] For a discussion of the tactics of gaining consensus in witch-killings, see Manning Nash (1960).

[6] Political homicide by agrarian leaders, which is so frequent in the central plateau (Friedrich 1962), is a relatively recent phenomenon in the retreat zones of Indian population. The cases analyzed by Friedrich are a strategy of political power stemming from a revolutionary background, and the cultural assumptions to which he points contrast with those underlying witch-killings. My only comparable case is, significantly, found outside the traditional center, in the new ejido colony.

[7] Jules Henry (1936) sees the formula of fear and anger at the

4: Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938-1944) 1969 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

9. The Tzeltal

ALFONSO VILLA ROJAS

133 flows through the eastern part of the region, the latter through the western, both draining large basins.

161 162 According to the census of 1950, the population of the zone totals 76,617 individuals, distributed over 15,970 sq. km. Of these 49,053 persons are Indian, 27,564 are Ladino. This population is distributed according to Table 1.

[128] San Cristobal de las Casas is omitted from the table because its population is predominantly Ladino (19,758 individuals) and because the Indians who live there (3,296) are of the Tzotzil tongue. Socoltenango and Nicolas Ruiz are also omitted because they no longer have an Indian-speaking population.

161 631 The central region has the municipalities of the highest density of population: Oxchuc with 129 inhabitants per sq. km., and Tenejapa with 115. The northern part has an area seven times as large with only twice as much population; the municipality of Ocosingo has hardly one inhabitant per sq. km. in spite of the fact that its lands are the most fertile of the entire region. Although it

[134]

[P. 195-B] TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 196-B

Although it
161 has an average of 19 inhabitants per sq. km..
[241] the southern zone has lands that are suitable
[631] for agriculture and for irrigation, such as in
[128] Amatenango. Later I shall discuss the influence of these factors on the uneven economic and social development of the three zones.

161 The figures on Indians are based exclu-
162 sively on use of the Indian language and
197 so include both monolinguals and bilin-
191 guals. To differentiate each group, however, I have made corrections based on field work as shown in Table 2.

141 The average height of these Indians ranges from 1.55 to 1.60 m. Referring to

[P. 196 - B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

did not like it and ran away. His place was taken by a younger man, Nicholas Cardon Niqol (the third names appear to be nicknames), but too much time had been lost to accomplish a great deal.

In the printed lists, preference has been given to the first-named informant in each dialect, although when the variation is considerable, both versions are set down.

SPANISH	TZELTAL	YOCOTAN	CHONTAL
Abeja	tcanal-tcap tcap-tcul-tat-tik	yūm -tcap mu-yum olokte	tcupim
abuela	tcutcux tcutcun-el	kE-mim pan'ocip	ka-mam
abuelo	tat-mam-al (father-old-the)	kE-mop	ka-mam
agrio	bax	amuh-ba'*	pa
agua	ha'	ha'	ha
aguacero	tulan-ha-al (strong water)	no-ha (big water)	
alacrán	tsek	sina'	sina'
aliento			ik
alma	lap	pican	
alto	toyol	diski	iski
amarillo	k'an	kun	k'an
amo		yum	
andar	be-el	cuma'a ya-kE-te†	te camba
animal	tcam-ba'lam	Eluk'i	tcitam
año	hun hab-il hab sin-il	hun hap (future) hun habi (past)	
aquí	lili	nida[n]	
araña	ām	t'oi	ah-toi‡
árbol	te	te	hun tsit-te
arcilla	tcav-ek lum (beeswax-earth)		
arco	timal-te yalab	wun-te	
cuerda del arco	ahci'al		
ardilla	tcutc	tcutc	ictcutc
arroyo	ukum	sañi-ha'	
asiento		tcumlip	tcunlip
áspero		ketsen	
atole		mats	mats
aya		nant'i	

*amuh, amo-, or amos-, appearing in various adjectives, means very.
†In many verbs the informants gave the first person singular, present form. This may be detected by the pronominal kE. See Appendix III.
‡ah = the definite article.

12 in his discussion of Subanun medical beliefs, speaks of English "glosses" for the Subanun structure of things--the glosses being understood to be proximate devices to give the reader a sense of the familiar. The major part of Frake's language of description lies in his use of hierarchically ordered, mutally exclusive classes as they are found in the native language. The following description of drinking performances in Aguacatenango, though loosely organized in comparison, is a first step in this direction. It is an approach to an "inside" view of drinking in Aguacatenango in that it makes extensive use of Tzeltal propositions and statements of relationship, drawn from the texts and verified or elucidated by eliciting procedures, in the construction of generalizations. The use of such statements in this account may make it easier for the reader to check my interpretations or for another ethnographer to verify, amplify, or revise my description.

• 12 In the chapters to follow, I shall deal with the relationships between drinking performances and the inventory of social roles (Chapter II), the role of drinking in conflict and its resolution (Chapter III), and in illness and curing (Chapter IV). In summary (Chapter V), I shall review the common elements of these instances of drinking in an attempt to show some aspects of the "meaning" of drinking performances in Aguacatenango.

273* of the seventy-six men reported that they drink "in excess" rather
124 than "a proper amount." This contrast seems to be based not primarily on moral principles, but rather on a belief that the state of deep drunkenness which most men reach when they drink in-
• 128 volves hazards to life and well-being. In the two chapters which follow, I shall describe some of these hazards--conflict and illness--along with the ways of dealing with them, in more detail.

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER IV

DRINKING PATTERNS ASSOCIATED WITH GETTING SICK AND DYING

75 Illness is probably the least well-controlled variable in Aguacatenango planning. As such, it is a recurrent event in the lives of Aguacatenangueros, and its implications are serious.

The household, the most complex and long-enduring organizational effort of Aguacatenangueros, may be destroyed by the death of one of its adult members. Extreme illness may cause a family to close up its house and leave town altogether. Any illness is potentially a severe strain on family resources.

273* 753 [1964] Drinking is intimately associated with illness: it figures in the etiology of illness; it is central in the procedures used to reduce illness as a basis for inference and action; and finally, it is an important instrument of expression of mourning should the ill individual die. After a brief description of the [128] "theory of illness" in Aguacatenango, we will show how drinking is related to this theory and to its behavioral expression.

75 not yet appear to be a popular alternative. Generally, the doctor is the last of all medical practitioners referred to in exhausting the curing options in Aguacatenango, though individuals who have had a successful relationship with the doctor are more
756 likely to pursue that option sooner. The only other major class of medical practitioner is the talking saint. Talking saints are more or less representational images of saints who, in conjunction with their "owners" can actively consult with human beings about their trials and tribulations in the world. The most powerful of this class, San Miguel of Soyaló, is about an eight hour trip and a 200 peso fee from Aguacatenango. Talking saints share more features with the curers than they do with doctors. They, like the curers, are predestined by God to their role,
[755] but they more directly represent God's omniscience. The cure of the talking saint is more powerful as can be measured by the greater expenditure of funds for such a cure, or as can be measured by his greater ability to divine in the life history of the patient the principal sources of illness.

128 Admitting then, that illness has general characteristics as described above, we turn our attention to the multiple relations between illness and the drinking of aguardiente.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Acknowledgments

My study of the people of Tzo?ontahal was made in four field sessions, the first in 1957 with return trips in 1958, 1964, and 1965, for a total of eighteen months. Brief visits were made in 1966 and 1967. With each returning visit it was possible to penetrate more deeply into the lives and experiences of the villagers, most of whom were highly resistant to an outsider on the first contact. I began writing the book in 1966, and some of the predictions I made came true before I finished it in 1968. These included the demise of the ceremonial leadership of the *alfereces*—the officials in charge of religious celebrations—the waning of the community status of curers, and the killing of one of my principal informants who had taken a leadership role before acquiring the traditional validation of age and experience in office. The transformations over the period of my study in this community created difficulties in recording and organizing my material. I owe whatever clarification has emerged to the efforts of Jane Olson and Gale Griffin of Yale University Press.

I am indebted to the National Institutes of Mental Health, which made possible the research for this study. I owe an intellectual debt to Sol Tax, who introduced me to the problems and potentialities of the area as a locus for field study, to Norman McQuown, who gave me the first instruction in Tzeltal and provided a grammar which facilitated learning the language, and to Manning Nash, who provided some of the earlier formulations of the culture from which I have borrowed. I am grateful to Duane Metzger and Gerald Williams, who generously provided equipment and facilities for work with informants in San Cristóbal Las Casas in the summer of 1964. Alfonso Villa Rojas, who was director of the Instituto Nacional Indígenista, was of great assistance in the first summer's field trip, introducing me to leaders within the town and in the Instituto's headquarters in Las Casas.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

ters in Las Casas. His encouragement and support of investigations by foreign students set an example in international cooperation. I am personally indebted to Mary Marshall for the companionship and assistance she offered during our summer of residence in the public bathhouse of the town; she is responsible for the observations in Appendix 3A and 3B. Terrence Kaufman checked the Tzeltal words appearing in the glossary. I am grateful for the hospitality and friendship of the family of the schoolmaster, Louis Tavernier. Without the patience, the insight, and the friendship of Juliana Lopez Shunton, Mariano Lopez Lin, Simón Perez Kantirón, and their families, the book would never have been written. Vera Deutsch provided encouragement and assistance in the final typing of the manuscript. My children, Eric and Laura, shared the hardships of fieldwork and of producing the book.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

121 A culture, under certain conditions, during a period of time can be said to be an open system in a state of stable but moving equilibrium: that is to say, it maintains a boundary, accepts inputs and produces outputs at approximately equal rates, and changes continuously but gradually in internal structure.

The concept of equilibrium is one way to talk about the constraints which make behavior congruent with beliefs. Given a constantly changing ecological setting due to an expanding population and a changing man-land ratio, the stability of the system depends on the adequacy of existing institutions to handle conflict and of shared understandings to explain events. Movement stems from the tension between individual and social goals and the adaptations to bring them into closer harmony. The basic condition for the kind of change characteristic of a moving equilibrium is that conflict is contained within the community.

128 I have organized the data to clarify features maintaining equilibrium and to show the direction in which the society is moving. First I describe formal, prescribed behavior for each institutional complex and relate it to the beliefs that underlie it. Following each of these chapters I analyze strategies formulated in response to changes coming from within or outside the community. The formal behavior providing a framework for continuity is related to place spirits in Chapter 1, to economic activities in Chapter 2, to customs and rituals in the family and neighborhood in Chapters 4 and 5, to civil and religious government in Chapters 7 and 8. Changing strategies are related to economic activities in Chapter 3, to social relations as revealed in curing practices in Chapter 6, and to political relations in Chapter 9.

177 178 [241] [323] [592] [476] [361] Implicit in the organization is an ordering of institutions from most static to most dynamic. In the economy, agricultural technology has been stabilized at the colonial level of adaptation at which the wooden plow, hoe, and machete were added to, but did not displace, the digging stick, while in pottery manufacture, both techniques and products have remained unchanged. The organization of work groups remains limited to the household except for the introduction of cooperatives in recent years. In domestic institutions there has been an adaptation to living in a compact settlement with the emphasis on the bilateral kinship group.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

pact settlement with the emphasis on the bilateral kinship group. The authority of the elders in settling conflicts in the family and the community is weakened, although the hierarchy remains intact. In religious institutions, the personnel has remained the same, but the authority of the religious officials has weakened and the belief in the deities and ancestral figures has been undermined.

Political leadership is the most dynamic area of change. The power of the *principales* had already been taken over by young civil officials when I first went to the town in 1957. The curers, who retained the power derived from belief in their control over the supernatural, were the core of resistance to change in the decade that I knew the community. But this control was being challenged by civil officials and factional leaders, who were aware of its repressive effect. The dynamic aspect of the political sector is linked to the fact that the new leaders saw the necessity of seizing power from those who were privileged in the traditional society. They were reworking the social structure to pave the way for the acceptance of development opportunities being offered by the national government.

In Chapters 10, 11, and 12 I have summarized the structuring of behavior in roles, place, and time and described how these patterns have been affected by change. The following questions are raised in the summary chapters:

1. The role system: How are people recruited into roles? How are roles coordinated? How are performances evaluated? The matrix of roles provides the patterned expectations of what others will do in a given situation. Some of the decisions made in assigning people to roles allow little room for choice. In other cases, new functions, such as those imposed upon governing officials, have replaced traditional bases for making decisions and in turn upset the balance of power between elders, curers, and leaders in civil office. (Continuity and change in the role structure are analyzed in Chapter 10.)

2. The setting: How is appropriate behavior defined for each institutional setting? What kinds of behavior are replicated in each setting? How are changes in role relations reflected in positions assumed in each setting? Observations of behavior in the church and the

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

128 school included in Appendix 3 provide the data for an inductive analysis of conventions established by place. (These are compared and analyzed in Chapter 11.)

3. Timing of behavior: How does time enter into the consciousness of people's planning of activities? Time is a resource the use of which indicates the values assigned to activities and the relative power of people in bargaining positions. As such, it is a sensitive index to changes in strategies for allocating effort. (The sense of time is examined in reference to the scheduling of performances and interpreting the behavior of others in Chapter 12.)

The summary chapters provide the basis for testing the following hypotheses in the final chapter:

1. The stability of the society varies directly with:
   a. the degree of control over time and place
   b. the efficiency of its procedures for adjusting conflict
   c. the ability to validate behavioral innovations in terms of existing values
   d. the effectiveness of the techniques for transforming old power positions whose functions contradict changed social conditions into ceremonial posts
2. The lability of the society varies directly with:
   a. the gap between expectations and experience
   b. the degree of dissonance between traditional explanations and current interpretations of events

177 178 During the period I worked in Tzo?ontahal, the fundamental propositions on which behavior was predicated were being challenged. When old beliefs are waning, the question is whether the techniques developed to maintain the old conditions for equilibrium will persist in the future.

121 Fortes (1959:25) has pointed out that the "serious defect . . . of generalized enthnographic descriptions" is that they do not show "how ritual or belief is actually used by men and women to regulate their lives." My purpose is to indicate not only how belief and ritual serve the ends of regulation but also how beliefs are transformed in the process of performing ri-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Chapter 1

Spirits and Places

Social space is the cognitive pattern of relationships imposed upon any terrain. In Amatenango del Valle[1] there are two superimposed patterns. One is defined by the nation for the purposes of political administration. This follows the pattern of colonial administration of *municipios,* or townships, with a *cabecera,* or administrative center, containing the church, town hall, and school house, and serving a number of colonias and *rancherias,* local hamlets or nuclei of populations. The other pattern is defined by the inhabitants using Tzeltal terminology or a Tzeltal rendition of a Spanish name. In this pattern, domains of good and bad spirits are defined, and behavior appropriate to each place is specified in myths and rituals. Persistence of this pattern has had profound implications for continuity of pre-Conquest culture. It provides a ground plan for the system of social control and security exercised by the old gods and their human intermediaries.

In the following section, I will discuss first territorial divisions defined by national law and modified by indigenous categories, and then the interaction between the spirits of persons and places.

The Territorial Divisions

The township of Amatenango del Valle is located at 92°30′ longitude and 16°30′ latitude in the highland zone of the state of Chiapas. The town center is located no more than fifty yards from the Pan-American Highway twenty-five miles southeast of the departmental capital of San Cristóbal.

1. I use the national designation derived from Nahuatl, Amatenango del Valle, to refer to the township, and the Tzeltal term Tzo'ontahal to refer to the center.

tóbal. The altitude above sea level varies from 2,000 meters in the hilly periphery to 1,720 meters in the valley where the town center is located. Ejido lands acquired in the 1930s have extended the boundaries of the township to lower lands at 1,500 meters altitude.

Pre-Conquest settlement patterns in the Chiapas highlands were characterized by independent communities occupying the headlands around flat-bottomed valleys (R. M. Adams 1961:341). The choice of sites seems to have been based on defense against invading Toltec or other conquest groups (Calnek 1962:25). The sites investigated by Adams and Culbert (R. M. Adams 1961:347) in Amatenango belong to the late-Classic and early post-Classic period. They were marginal to the centers of Maya civilization in the Yucatán peninsula and Guatemala. Test excavations in the modern town indicate that it was occupied only after colonial times.

The town of Amatenango del Valle is first mentioned in the year 1528 when it was included in tribute lists with both the Nahuatl name, Amatenango, and the Tzeltal name, Tzobontaghal (Calnek n.d.). The tribute lists of 1761 include 33 families in the *parcialidad*, or Spanish political unit based on an indigenous settlement, of Zacatepec in Amatenango and 75 families in the parcialidad of Amatenango (Trens 1957 I:217). The first census done in 1778 shows a total population of 576, with 374 men and 202 women. The racial breakdown is listed as 8 white, 2 negro and mestizo, and 560 Indians (Trens 1957:221). By 1824, the population had increased to 1,620. The present population of 3,179 represents natural growth as well as inclusion of additional outlying settlements added in the latter part of the nineteenth century and during the 1930s with the enactment of the land reform act. The population changes indicate steady but not great increases. The capacity of the town to incorporate additional population has probably passed its peak. The present trend is for out-migration to newly opened ejido lands.

The subdivisions of the town, which provide the framework for administration by the national government, are included in Table 1.

The center. The center of Tzo'ontahal is called the "center [or navel] of the world." The residents of the center, with the exception of the schoolteacher's family, are all Indian. Although the town center forms

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 5]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

ties to the center. They register births and deaths in the township center, but they do not have any representation in the cabildo. The populations have no identification with Indian subgroups, speak Spanish, and are oriented to the regional rather than the local economic center. The plantations remaining in the area, classified as *ranchos* in the national census, employ Indians from the center. Their only relationship to the central authority is to get help in recruiting additional laborers. Recruitment of labor is no longer coercive as it was prior to the 1930s when the low wage rate could not attract the help needed. Announcements of the need for workers are made by the president on the loudspeaker system of the town, and men voluntarily go to the plantations.

Spirit Domains

The link between people and place is through the media of the spirits (*ẽ'uleletik*) of persons and of locale. The relationship is maintained through a set of rules governing the behavior among spirits of people and of places. These rules derive from myths and stories of encounters which define the character of the spirits in each of the domains. Danger is localized in a series of caves which are avoided. Benevolent, or guardian, spirits inhabit a different set of sites, where ceremonies are conducted that maintain the well-being of the individual and of the community. By locating and circumscribing places of danger and guardianship, the members of the community can supplicate helpful spirits and avoid evil; they are delivered from fear of the unknown and provided with a rationale for dealing with fear of the known.

The places where spirits meet are outlined in Table 3. The first group includes spirits which are supplicated, the second, dangerous spirits which are avoided or approached only by powerful persons.

The house spirits. The spirits of inhabitants and of the house meet at the center post at the rear wall of the house. The spirit of the house lives in this post. Those who claim to have seen the house spirit say he is a small Ladino child. He is capricious, and if he is not happy, he may admit the evil spirits who will eat the souls of the inmates. His appe-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

121 interconnected and governed by a core meaning. However elementary the schema, it is a schema, precisely by virtue of the fact that the behavior components which it sets into motion form a strong whole, a recurrent and identifiable figure against a background of less tightly organized behavior.

Piaget (1952:244) has stated:

> It is due to the fact that schemata present this kind of structure that mental assimilation is possible and any object whatever can be incorporated or serve as aliment to a given schema.

This has significant implications for the continuity of tradition. The persistence of behavior depends on control in the organization of the work and in the training of new producers. As yet we do not have a means to measure the degree of organization or transfer of cognitive maps so that we can make comparisons across behavioral domains. The best source of data lies in the language which provides the cognitive mapping of the behavior. Table 10 provides a preliminary breakdown of the major stages and the distinct but similar action sequences which they include. Individual motions are replicated, in combination with other elements in the action sequence, to make up the component actions of different stages of production. The classification of actions implied in the Tzeltal verbs is shown in Table 11.[15]

128

323
461
192

TABLE 10. Schedule of Activities in Pottery Production

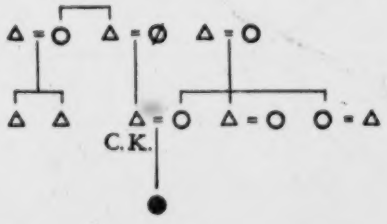
Time	*Step*	*Activity*
1st day	1.	Yah tzes ya?bi ya?lel (Moisten; give water to clay and leave one day)
2d day	2.	Ya swotz lum sok hi? (Mix clay with sand)
	2.1	Yah sčičin hi? (Sift sand)
	2.2	Yah lihk swotz (Begin to mix)
	2.3	Sah sk'ap sok hi? yu?un ben pikiš (Add sand until grainy)
	2.4	Yakto parte ma to yaiyehuk hi? (Put aside some that doesn't have enough sand)
	2.5	Ya?be ča? mel sk'ut * sok hi? (Give 2 passes, kneading with sand)
	2.6	Ya tzob ya swol (Collect it and make a ball)
	2.7	Ya sba sna?an ta suhk sč'ute (Go set it on a board)

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

but on other occasions they are as likely to be chosen from among peers of the parents.

The occasions on which the first informant in Table 20 acquired compadres are spelled out in the following diagrams to show the growth of the network of compadrazgo relations in the course of a lifetime.

Compadres of C. K., sixty-five-year-old man. C. K. chose as compadres on the occasion of the baptism of his first child an older man who lived in the same section of town. The diagram shows the composition of the baptismal party. The darkened symbol in this and the following diagrams represents the child baptized.



C. K. addresses all of the guests by the term "compadre" and refers to the group as "kumparetak." The second child has the same padrino, and the same group of relatives attended the ceremony. For the third child, C. K. chose a Ladino shopkeeper from the neighboring town. He chose him because, "I sold wheat to him, and I saw he was honorable." C. K. had a house fiesta to which the shopkeeper came with his wife. This is somewhat unusual and occurred because the compadre was from another town. C. K. chose as the padrino of his fourth child another Ladino he knew in the same town, but the padrino did not attend the house fiesta to which only his sister, her husband, and her husband's brother came. A woman prayer-reciter of the same section was chosen as *madrina* of his fifth and sixth child when C. K. was fiscal. A younger man of the same section was chosen as the padrino of the seventh child. C. K. helped his son select the padrino of a grandson born in his house, a man from the same section. [TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 120]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Vogt 1965; Wagley 1949; Wisdom 1940; Zabala 1961). Comparison of the structure and functioning of the hierarchy reveals differing applications of the same principles of allocating roles (age, sex, territorial identification, and previous service) and differing assignments of the same tasks (administrative, judgment, and maintenance).

In this chapter, I shall analyze the civil-religious hierarchy in Tzo'ontahal as a formally prescribed system of roles and behavior. The data on which the analysis is based are: (1) the system of roles and the principles of allocation, (2) careers in office of household heads, (3) instrumental behavior prescribed for officials, and (4) ritual behavior. The following chapter will be concerned with the exercise of power within the limits set by the formal organization of offices.

The Matrix of Roles

Civil officials. Civil offices in Tzo'ontahal are a segmented, ranked set of posts, each of which has an internally age-graded ranking. Outside of these segments are two leadership positions, those of president and his assistant, *síndico,* which are not controlled by the same criteria of entry—service in lower posts of the civil and religious hierarchies and age. Multiple posts at the same level have equal representation of officials from the upper and lower divisions of the center, Ahk'olnantik and Alannantik, and single posts are held alternately by residents of each side. Theoretically, the post of president should alternate as well, but in fact the scarcity of qualified candidates limits consideration of this condition. Since 1948, of the twelve presidents, only four were from Ahk'olnantik.

The four ranked segments (Fig. 6) from higher to lower are *krinsipaletik,* or principales, *alkaletik,* or judges, *rehiroletik,* or regidores, and *mayoletik,* or policemen. The relative rank of the post is expressed in terms of its power, and the relative rank of the post-holder in terms of age (the term used to describe an older office holder, *mas mamalil,* has the extended meaning of greater power [1]). Age-ranking of officials complements

1. Siverts (1965) points out that in Cancuk the term *mamal,* or elder, was applied to a young man who held a post of high authority because of his skills in literacy and language. By terminological reference, he was graduated into the senior age group.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

shortly before the fiesta of the saint's day with which he was charged. When the nomination was made, the president sent out the first policeman with the chief policeman to bring the man chosen to the town hall. They expected, and were always confronted with, resistance to the nomination. In order to gain acceptance they got the nominee drunk in a drinking session at the town hall. Liquor was measured out, and all the officials drank only a half cup at each round, but the new alférez was required to drink a full cup. The rounds continued until the new alférez was drunk. If he did not accept at this session, he was put in jail to think it over. Another drinking session took place the following day.

Nomination to the post of alférez was the only situation in which the jail penalty has been brought into effect, since refusal by nominees to other posts simply means that the officials "look for someone else." The reason given for invoking the punishment was "we know he has the wealth and therefore he should serve." Until 1965 the town had always succeeded in recruiting two of the alfereces from Ahk'olnantik and two from Alannantik. Since the upper division of Ahk'olnantik has grown at a more rapid rate than the lower division, candidates were found only in Ahk'olnantik. This unbalancing of the population ratios undermined the institution of alférez, which had always been the most unpopular position. When I returned to the field in 1967, it had been eliminated.

The Functions of Civil Officials

An analysis of the formally prescribed functions of the civil officials must take into account three sources of data: the functions as prescribed by state legislation, the functions as understood by local officials, and the observed activities of the officials. Table 26 compares the functions of officials as stated in the constitution of the state of Chiapas (Secretaría del Gobierno Departmental de Chiapas, 1828: Decreto 52, Nov. 30, 1825) [3] to statements of informants and to my observations of the carrying out of their official obligations.

3. I have chosen this constitution as the first post-independence statement of the status of local civil administrators.

the regidores were seated in their customary places; the alfereces sat on the visitors' bench. The two former alfereces went before the two newly appointed alfereces and gave an account of what was going to take place, instructing them on "how they should make a fiesta."

When the two former alfereces entered, they went to the president, saying, "How does the Lord see you alive on this holy afternoon?" They then went to the síndico and the regidores and ended with the judges, exchanging a pat?o?tan.

The alfereces went out, mounted their horses, and were handed the banners by the regidores. The two old alfereces received their banners first. All four made the sign of the cross, first facing the cabildo, then the church, and then rode in procession, preceded by the flutist, two drum players, and a guitarist, and followed by the other horsemen. They stopped before the church, dipping their flags, first toward the church and then the cabildo. The president, síndico, and first judge walked across the plaza to the church as the church bells were rung, and all the musical instruments played—the marimba, bell, drums, and flute. The alfereces dismounted and put their banners in the church.

The final day, called Lahinbahel Sk'in, *was spent sobering up, putting things back in order, and returning borrowed items.*

Although Santiago is not one of the major saints, a major celebration is given in his honor because of the high value placed on horsemanship in this community. Before the construction of the Pan-American Highway in 1953 everyone in town had horses which were used to carry the pottery to market. Riding skills were developed in the free-swinging *macho* (manly) style of northern Mexico's cowboys. Even today when horses are not as economically useful the horse culture has survived. The running of the horses in the fiesta is not competitive. Each rider does his best to tear at high speed across the plaza, but there is no specific goal. Since the drunken riders often fall and are injured, some of the excitement is based on the potential danger.

The behavioral data on which the analysis of rituals depends are included because they provide a basis for comparison with neighboring

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

towns and explain small-scale change over short periods of time. The contextual description of behavioral details may eventually overcome the lack of replicable events available to laboratory science. By specifying all the conditions of the ritual, it is possible to separate the unique from the patterned components. At one level, the analysis consists in indicating the repetitive patterns and the continuity of beliefs which these exemplify. At another level, rituals can be analyzed as psychodramas in which the individual adopts a social role. The dialectical connection between the new official and his role is established in the obligations he carries out.

When people are asked "why" something is done, they continually shift between the social and psychological levels. "We do this because it was the custom of our ancestors," they will frequently say. When pressed further, they reduce their level of response to the individual, saying, "The women don their husband's ceremonial hat because they wish to hide their face because of embarrassment." Both answers are true interpretations, differing only in the level of social complexity at which the enquiry is directed. One can go farther in elaborating the latent significance of the ritual acts. To continue with the same example, the dance drawing the wife into a public performance was performed because, as one informant said, "she too has done work for the fiesta" (she made pottery to raise the money). The dance gains the favor of the saints, as is demonstrated in the Virgin's tactics with the Devil, and in the curing rituals with the spirits of the house and of the springs. Dancing establishes a relationship to the group: the women dancing in the center of the circle formed by their husbands revolving around them are incorporated as an integral part of a sacred social unit.

Rituals provide a key to the psychic dynamics of the group since they deal with these explicitly. The ritual acts are predicated on expected individual responses. For example, since liquor overcomes embarrassment,[5] it

5. Bennett and Zingg (1937) have stated the even more dramatic social significance of liquor among the Tarahumara. Social intercourse in this mountain tribe is impossible without liquor. Conditioned as they are in isolated nuclear family groups to retreat at the sign of an outsider, the Tarahumara need something to relax their embarrassment and fear in large gatherings. Landa (Tozzer 1941) has commented at length on the compulsory drinking at ceremonials of the Yucatecan Maya.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

of political relations is summarized for each of these conflict areas. Most of the events recorded below are transcriptions of informants' statements given in Tzeltal. I have chosen this method to show how the people interpret incidents and how this leads to cognitive restructuring.

The Conflict among Civil Officials

In the period of consolidation since the revolution, the crucial issue in determining the allocation of power among local civil authorities has been that of incorporating men who have special abilities to deal with external authority without upsetting an age-ranked system. Prior to the 1950s these skills were rare—in 1920 only four young men could sign their names and read. The civil careers of two men, Ceferino, a native of the town, and Augustín, a revistido Indian from Huistán, illustrate the different courses taken by this new leadership in the post-revolutionary period of the 1930s. Ceferino was included in the given structure of power while Augustín used his skills in dealing with Ladinos to gain personal power. Ceferino was one of the first four men of the town to learn to read and write. The civil authorities recognized his potential usefulness in the town hall, and succeeded in incorporating him in an honorific but powerless position as scribe. He described his introduction into local government:

After I got out of school, the town saw that I knew how to write. Formerly there was no one who knew how to write. In the town hall the judges and president needed someone to write down the contributions and the payment for the government agents. Therefore, when the civil authority changed in the new year, they talked to my mother. As was the custom then, four regidores came to "raise" me, bringing a bottle of trago as a gift for my mother. She did not drink it alone. Together with the regidores we finished the trago. After finishing the trago, the first regidor began to speak to my mother in the pat?o?tan, saying, "I am going to bring one of your children, one of your offspring to the place where we look and where we see [reference to town hall]. We ask this favor because he knows how to write. Therefore the judges and the president ordered me to come and raise him and take out his soil, his mud, for this duty for this obligation.

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NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Chapter 10

Roles, Persons, and the Evaluation of Performance

Categories of roles, time, and place structure the expectations of social groups. The following three chapters summarize the preceding data according to these cognitive modes. Role behavior and system, which will be analyzed in the present chapter, provide only a partial explanation of social interaction. It is the "proliferation of behavior beyond roles" (Linn 1967) that is of greater interest for the study of change. Consideration of place and time helps to make role categories explicit and to structure behavior that exceeds role expectations. Changes in the use of space and time can reveal adjustments in role relations before change occurs. Space and time perspectives will therefore be analyzed in the following two chapters.

Cooperation is possible when actors not only take into account the responses of others but also anticipate those responses. Anticipations are based in part upon understanding of conventional roles, but the rights, duties, and obligations invested in roles do not encompass all of the relevant expectations which make coordinated social interaction possible. Individual repetitive behavior in role play gives an image of what kind of person each actor is, and the groups of individuals are further categorized as "kinds of people." As an example of the first kind of classification, we have persons characterized as bright, dull, honest, crafty, etc. The second set of categories puts different personalities in socioeconomic classes such as rich and poor, or in political classes such as radical and conservative. Tzo?ontahal, along with other small societies, emphasizes personality categories since it lacks well-defined socioeconomic or sociopolitical classes.

Social continuity depends upon events which call for the participation of groups defined by roles as well as on socialization processes that under-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

write beliefs that give coherence to these roles. Whether these events continue to be scheduled, and in the process of being presented "prove" the postulates upon which structural relationships are based, depends upon acceptance of the belief system.

A fundamental understanding governing behavior in Tzo?ontahal is that people ought to do as the ancestors did. Both "knowing" and "remembering" are expressed by the same verb, *ya sna,* while "learning" and "memorizing" are expressed by the verb *ya snop*. The behavioral corollary of this association between knowing and remembering is that one should accept the word of the ancestors as a guide to behavior. The importance of obeying one's elders as the intermediaries in the transfer of ways of behaving from one generation to another is stressed in child training and is restated in the prayers uttered at ritual performances enacting the ways of the ancestors.

In this chapter I shall consider the integration of behavior based on roles, personality, codes of morality and etiquette, and the ideological and behavorial changes which are disturbing this system.

The Role System

Coherence of the role system in Tzo?ontahal depends upon (1) similar premises for role recruitment and continuity in transition from one role to another; (2) alternation in office and linkage of separate domains by special offices; and (3) standardized etiquette of role interaction. Uniform standards of evaluation of performance provide a sanctioning system ensuring social integration.

Recruitment and transition. Relative and chronological age combined with consideration of sex are the fundamental principles for assigning role categories. The age principle categorizes the entire town in role pairs of respect and deference. Sex differentiation is not made in children until after infancy. An infant of either sex is called *?unin,* also a term for the new moon, until the age of eight months. The sex of parent rather than that of the child is designated: a woman calls her offspring *?alal* whether boy or girl, and a man calls his offspring *nič'an*. Sex distinction is

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

party to go to the spring, at least one relative remains in the house to greet the soul if it should precede the curing party.

Behavior in household rituals is described in Chapters 1, 5, and 8.

The Cabildo

The cabildo, called by the people of the town the "cold house,"[1] was built following the revolution of 1915, when Piñeda's revolutionary soldiers destroyed the original colonial structure. The tiles of the roof were confiscated from a finca which the Indians invaded in 1941 in an unsuccessful attempt to gain additional lands. When they were unable to maintain their hold on the land, they burned the owner's house and took the tiles to the town center where they remain as a symbol of their defiant action. They refer to this event with pride. The cabildo houses the jail, equipped with a barred wooden door, in one of its wings, and the Ejido Commission office in the other.

Within the cabildo, each official has his established place. The cabildo is furnished with a table at which the president and síndico sit on wooden chairs made in the Indian town of Chamula. Four benches lining the walls on either side of the entry provide seating for the civil officials. On the right side (looking out at the plaza) sit the judges in order of rank; the regidores, in similar sequence follow them. The principales, and formerly the alfereces, sit on the left side when they appear for ceremonial occasions. This spatial allocation establishes drinking and greeting order as well. Visitors can go directly from one to another in the formal greeting of a handclasp and murmured "good morning, father," or "good afternoon, father," without violating age-respect patterns.

During court cases, the claimant and his supporters sit on the bench to the left of the door; on other occasions the bench is occupied by visitors or petitioners. The police sit on one of the two benches lining the outside wall, or retire to the kitchen, a wooden slat lean-to on the left wing of the

1. Bunzel (1952) notes that in prayers, the cabildo in Chichicastenango is referred to as "the cold house, the icy house." Although the Quiché term is not given in her manuscript, one can see a similarity in the rhyming couplets and metaphorical allusions in the prayers of the towns.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amstenango del Valle

The behavior described for each institution in earlier chapters will be summarized as a mode of adjustment or adaptation in relation to the beliefs that give it meaning and purpose.

Economic Activities

Learning agricultural tasks and pottery-making in the household is part of adjusting to membership in the community. Parents are responsible for teaching the value of industriousness and are held accountable throughout the life of the child. Agricultural tasks are scheduled in a yearly cycle that provides sufficient flexibility for a man to carry out community and familial ceremonial responsibilities. In milpa agriculture, there is no specialization of tasks. Small-plot agricultural production with a simple technology has been reinforced by the land reform program. Since the lands incorporated under the Ejido Commission in the 1930s were attached to the community, agriculturalists were not forced to adjust to new ecological conditions. Politicalization was minimal since the local commission operated within the old civil hierarchy. In the recent expansion of ejido colonies in hot country, Indians from the community have developed alliances with non-Indians in asserting claims to the land. Without any preexisting civil hierarchy, these ejidatarios have not had to adjust their activities to a given structure of authority, but have developed independent political organizations as an adaptation to their new environment.

Women's work in pottery is less subject to changes in techniques and organization than is men's. The schema of production in simple tasks in a fixed sequence makes it easier to teach girls each process and reinforces a given pottery tradition. My guess would be that if wheel production were introduced, it would liberate the creativity of each potter by freeing her of established routines.

Pottery production is not surrounded, as is agricultural production, by ceremonials. There is no god to whom one lights candles or gives offerings to ensure success, although there are hazards in production, particularly at the time of firing. Agricultural productivity, on the other hand, is thought to depend on the proper relation between the spirits of the heaven and of the church with the spirits of crops.

In the new economic activities, the Indians have shown both adjustive

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

121 the external system, with the aim of investigating internal causation.

[177] The two communites are equally acculturated, measured according to the number of material traits of western introduction, the influence of Catholicism, the degree of Spanish borrowing in the native tongue, the attitudes towards the outside world and the type of relations with this world. Both communities share the same historical past, the language, and the same cultural traditions. Both communities are good examples of Wolf's ideal type of "corporate peasant communities," and both are located in compactly settled villages, under the same ecological conditions.

•128 The data to support this treatment of the problem is presented in chapter ii. The third chapter deals mainly with the common aspects of the over-all social structure of the two villages, that is, the larger social frame in which domestic groups or households function as units.

Chapter iv discusses the differences and similarities in the organization of production of the two villages, compares the immediate social effects of the differences, and prepares the ground for the later evaluation of these economic factors in terms of their effects in the developmental cycle of the domestic group.

[592] The organization of production is shown to be tied up with the domestic group directly, in the sense that the two major means of production, land and labor, are controlled by the household. Thus, the aspects of the organization of production which are treated throughout this work are: (1) sex and age composition and size of work groups, and (2) rights to land, animals, houses and objects

128 used in production, both in terms of holding and of transmitting such rights. Objects used in production are not dealt with extensively, because the capital investment in them is small, and they are easily replaceable, that is, the technological equipment is simple and reduced.

Chapter v presents a schematic description of the kinship system with the purpose of mapping those social relations which are classified in the terminological system based on consanguinity and affinity, and its extensions.

Chapter vi is the core of the study. In this section is presented a description of the developmental cycle of the domestic unit in the two villages. Several aspects of the organization of the household are highlighted: (1) membership, and its concomitant of residence rules; (2) the rights and duties of individuals as members of a domestic unit; (3) the effects of the system of production in the reorganization, through time, of a given domestic unit; and (4) the affective and psychological concomitants present in the particular role behavior of household members.

At the beginning of the write-up of this study, I set forth a series of correlations which I expected to test while analyzing the materials. Not all of them are fully explored in the final work, due in part to gaps in the body of data available. This by no means implies that the field work was inadequate per se, but rather shows the difficulties of searching for evidence on one problem from data collected mainly with other aims in mind.

The analytical frame which I used consists of correlations between economic factors, mainly the organization of production,

128 and the organization of the domestic units. While analyzing the evidence I did not expect to explain variation in terms of only one domain of social activity, thus, the economic frame became a reference point to handle data rather than the axis or core of the description. Specific hypotheses for points of comparison which I expected to explore are found under the following headings:

121
128

1. Patterned choices of residence and residence sponsor for all productive individuals:
   a) If only men were important producers, and rights in the property followed an agnatic line, then residence was expected to be patri-virilocal and residence sponsors to be only males.
   b) If women were as important producers as men, and rights over property followed a bilateral pattern, then residence was expected to be bi-local and residence sponsors to be both males and females.
2. Choice of marriage partner and the characteristics of the marriage transaction and relationship:
   a) The bride-price would have more importance in the patri-virilocal setting than in the bi-local one, but the importance of women as producers in the bi-local setting was expected to increase the value of the bride-price in the case in which the chosen residence for a particular couple was patri-virilocal.

121
128

b) The relationship of the wife to the husband was hypothesized to be one of equality and interdependence in the community in which women shared the economic burden of the household, and one of inequality and dependency in the community in which only men were producers or "bread-winners."

c) A bilateral system of holding and inheriting property was expected to be more likely to correlate with equal status (i.e., equivalent rights) of the sexes in other aspects of the social life, while a unilateral system of holding and transmitting property was expected to correlate with a differential status for the sexes in other aspects of the social life.

3. Variation in the productive role of men and women was expected to be reflected in the socialization of children of different sexes, and also in the affective content of the roles of siblings, in-laws, parents and other members of the domestic group.

4. The distribution of rights and duties within the domestic group with special reference to the distribution of status and jural authority along age and sex lines:

a) Producers who held rights to the means of production were expected to have more authority than producers who were dependent laborers.

b) Producers were expected to hold a higher status than non-producers or less efficient producers.

121 5. The spatial propinquity of kinship-linked households.
128

a) If cooperative work groups and reciprocal obligations of labor outside the domestic unit were organized along male lines, then it was expected that propinquity between agnatically related households would have been the result.

b) If cooperative work groups and reciprocal obligations of labor outside the domestic unit were organized along both male and female lines, then it was expected that agnatically linked households and matrilineally linked households would have had equal degree of territorial proximity.

6. The social propinquity (i.e., relative frequencies and intensity of interaction) of kinship linked households.

a) When the community work groups were composed of male kinsmen and when residence was based on patrivirolocal proximity and inheritance followed an agnatic line, then higher interaction between agnatically linked households would have been the concomitant.

b) When community work groups were composed of both male and female kinsmen, and when inheritance was bilateral and residence bi-local, then interaction with linked related households would have followed a bilateral pattern.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Statement on Method and Objectives

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128 I do not attempt to set a correlation which is going to be valid for the world at large, but only for the historical, ecological and cultural conditions fulfilled by these two communities as well as by similar villages in the Chiapas Highlands. I do not reject the possibility that under similar conditions, some other society in the world may show similar patterns of variation, but this is considered to be an empirical question. Obviously, my set of hypotheses would generate only local correlations which require further testing, before they can be held as generalizations of more universal nature.

000 Restricted generalizations are, in my view, one of the lacks in the field of anthropology. We have derived "laws" about Society (with capital letters) from very scanty evidence collected from ethnographic publications which we cannot be sure are comparable. The laws which we have derived from such works have become, sometimes, axioms which bias our whole way of thinking, and which we transmit from one generation of anthropologists to another as "folk" transmit their belief system and their traditions.

There are several ways of breaking through this barrier (and I suggest it has to be done before anthropology becomes a serious comparative discipline). One necessary step is to specify our techniques and the evidence available in support of our statements for each particular instance. Another step is to unify our methodology and our taxonomies, or if not possible, state as clearly as possible the ones we do use. A third step would be to

identify in every case the social units which are being dealt with, a fourth to delimit the socio-cultural "cells" which can be treated as discrete units for comparison, and finally, and perhaps most important of all, we should try to specify the range of our generalizations. Our science is at the historical point in which it would be more important to attest the differences between human societies than to claim the universality of their similarities.

Radcliffe-Brown (1948) dedicated a whole book to the discussion of these same problems, and some of his students (Eggan, for example), have insistently taught this to their students in class and to other anthropologists in print. It is unfortunate, however, that so very few anthropologists are willing to deal with small scale generalizations, and prefer to present their findings as statements on the nature of society rather than as statements on the nature of particular societies.

128 The methods and techniques employed for the preparation of data for presentation, analyzing the results, and comparing the two communities, are specified in the respective sections of the text. The general methodological frame for the study is that of a controlled comparison (Eggan, 1954) at the intra-cultural level.

Definitions

121 The definitions of the social units compared will be extensively given in the corresponding sections of the text. The same will be true for the taxonomic terms employed.

114 The previous mentioned sources of information will be
128 utilized for background of the study.

The actual data pertaining to the two communities under scrutiny is derived from the following sources: (1) Aguacatenango field-notes, prepared by Duane and Barbara Metzger in the year 1956; (2) Aguacatenango field-notes prepared by the Metzgers and myself during 1958, summer session; (3) my Master's paper on Residence Patterns in Aguacatenango (Verbitsky, 1959b); (4) Amatenango reports prepared by June and Manning Nash, with the assistance of Joan Ablon during 1958-59; (5) the subsequent writings of the Nashes and Metzgers, published, and unpublished but available in mimeographed form for consultation.

125 Whenever it was possible, the data were collected quanti-
124 tatively. The section on residence was based on a formal questionnaire, checked for reliability with informal interviews with the same and other informants. This questionnaire was applied by the Nashes to 280 households in Amatenango and by myself to 68 in Aguacatenango. The residence analysis of Amatenango was prepared by June Nash (1959) with methods comparable to those utilized by me in my Master's paper. (Both used comparable analytical procedures.)

124 Other data were collected by direct questioning about particular subjects and analyzed and contrasted with case histories on the same topic.

Complete genealogies of the two villages were utilized for placing individual histories in the context of the family and other social relations.

124 In both villages, several households were visited regularly and interaction observed in detail. From this, and the informants own impressions, we obtained data on the activity schedules, the affective content of relationships between household members, the allocation of authority within the unit, and the relations of the household members with individuals belonging to other domestic groups.

126 To define degrees of territorial propinquity between households and household members, each household genealogy was placed on a map of the village.

128 The present analysis of data, unless otherwise stated in the text, is only mine. Any mistakes of interpretation are my sole responsibility.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER III

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AT THE VILLAGE LEVEL

Introduction

128 For the purpose of describing the social structure of the two communities compared on this paper, they will be treated at two levels. The level of the macro-structure contains the total community and the community territorial divisions (the barrios); the micro-structural level contains the household, the descent groups, and the informal territorial groupings or neighborhoods.

[621] [184] The main justification for this division of the material is that the macro-structure of the two communities is extremely similar, and there will be very few axes of contrasting comparisons to be found at this level, while the micro-structure is the level at which the most important differences between the two communities discussed in this paper are found.

A second justification is that the definition of roles at one level is separated from the definition of roles at the other level.

128 571 The roles at the macro-structure level are role dyads which include, on the one hand, the individual in the role of a community member, and on the other, any person representing the community at large. The roles at the micro-structure level are

128 pairs of individual roles, highly intense in interaction and
571 performed by people who are tied to each other by many clearly defined and extensive rights and duties. (D. Metzger [1960] defines them as highly relational versus lowly relational roles.) The roles at the micro-structural level form one net, and the quality of the joint performance of the individual, of all the roles which belong to him within this net define him as a good or bad person; the roles at the macro-structural level form a separate independent net which defines the individual as a good or bad community member.

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571 For example, a man can spend his household money in long drinking sessions, and while drunk fight with his brother or beat his wife, which will make him a bad brother and husband. But if he shares the liquor he drinks with other men in his barrio (town division), the same activity will define him as a good neighbor, who is neither selfish nor a miser, but willing to share his
[626] profits with other men. On the other hand, a man may refuse to pay his limosna to the Church, risk the community gossip and threats of witchcraft, but this would not make him a less respected father, nor influence the relationship with his wife.

361 The Physical Setting of the Villages

The towns are geographically compact, nucleated communities, as opposed to the vacant-town (and ceremonial center) described first by Tax (1937). The town streets form a grid pattern, more symmetrical in the center than at the edges where streets tend to curve following the accidents of the terrain.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER IV

THE ORGANIZATION OF PRODUCTION

Introduction

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Up to this page we have been describing the communities of Amatenango and Aguacatenango, emphasizing the similarities between these two social universes. There is, however, a set of differences between the two which requires separate treatment. It is important to do so because a detailed analysis of the patterned variation in the two villages can show us how, within a very similar social and cultural background, two societies can develop alternative forms of behavior which place the relations between individuals in two contrasting social structures.

Aguacatenango

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(621)

Aguacatenango is purely an agricultural village. The whole community is organized into independent domestic groups which are, in a sense, small family farms administered by the males.

Men cultivate the field crops--corn, beans and squash--do other planting and agricultural work, and care for the large livestock with the help of the sons who live under the same roof. Each household has a male head who is the bread-winner; he is responsible for the welfare of those who live in the same sitio.

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434 This contrasting economic picture has many effects in the structuring of social relations because it places the women of the two villages in very different positions with respect to their male relatives, and at crucial points in the life of an individual, determines, to a large extent, his choice of alternative behavior.

It is important to make clear that I am not suggesting that economic factors are the determinant of all social life. The specialization of Amatenango in pottery making is not only an economic, but a social and historical phenomenon as well. The basic economic organization of the villages of Amatenango and Aguacatenango is treated here as a given cultural factor. There is nothing in the ecology of Aguacatenango or Amatenango, or in the economic system itself, that "requires" that the women of the one village should be marginal producers while the women in the other are not.[1] This is a given fact. The factors that determined the present division of labor in the villages are not known to me, and I do not pretend that it is due to some primary economic cause.

•128 But, if I take the division of labor and the economic structure of the village as given variables, then I can ask myself to what extent it is followed by adjustments in other cultural norms. It is here where my problem lies.

I am going to attempt to describe, in the rest of this work, how, and under what circumstances, certain social choices which have become normative are related to the economic life of

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[1]Some of the clay deposits are located in Aguacatenango territory. But, Aguacatecos do not exploit them.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

128 the communities, to their different division of labor and to the control of productive activities and means of production by the sexes.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

CHAPTER V

KINSHIP AND LIFE CYCLE

• 128

The Kinship Terminology

The comparison of the kinship terminology utilized by the two communities will be presented within the methodological frame of componential analysis.

121 This body of analysis derives from (1) Kroeber's initial discussion in 1909, where he set forth the eight linguistic categories which make up for the distinctions in the different kinship system (Lowie did some rearrangement of these categories in his article on Relationship Terms for the 14th Edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica [1929], and Murdock [1949] re-classified them into major and minor, biological and social. In Eggan's revision of Lowie's article the same position of 1929 is maintained [Lowie and Eggan, 1961]); and (2) the analysis of paradigms in linguistics, especially Jacobson (1936) and Harris (1948).

The method has been utilized successfully, although somewhat differently, by several anthropologists, and in some cases was the result of "independent invention." Davis and Warner (1937) employed it in a theoretical statement about seven societies: Erse, English, Kariera, Chinese, Roman, Arunta and Hawaiian. Leach (1945) used a similar analysis in deriving Jinghpaw kin

121 terminology from seven axioms. Goodenough (1951, 1956a, 1957) worked out a theoretical frame and its application to Trukese data and Pehrson's Lapp kinship data. Lounsbury (1956) analyzed Morgan's Pawnees schedule mainly as a linguistic exercise in the semantic aspects of the method. Romney (1957), Romney and Metzger (1957) and Romney and Epling (1958) discussed some of the relationships between operational principles, and presented a substantive analysis of data utilizing this frame, on the Zuni and Kariera. In Europe, a close approximation to the componential analysis method was applied by Meeussen and LeCoste (1955) on the Ngwana, and Vansina (1957) on the Bushoong.

121 In this paper the method is utilized only briefly, mainly
• 128 because the presentation of the kinship terminology in a paradigmatic form simplifies the comparison between Amatenango and Aguacatenango (see Figs. 7 and 8). I do not claim, as have some of the previous authors, that the method generates an analysis of denotative semantics, nor that it is a truer picture of the whole kinship system.

128 I discuss the consanguineal address terminology because
601 it is the only one used regularly by the villagers, and does not differ, except for the exclusion of two or three affinal terms, from the reference terminology.

121 The universe of kinship is a discrete unit only for the anthropologist. In some societies in the world, the number of individuals who receive the treatment of kinsmen is arbitrarily limited with some criteria other than the two basic biological elements of copulation and birth, and the social concomitants

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 86]

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591 Another principal criticism of Fischer's typology attaches to his third proposal, which, as Fortes has made clear, disregards the developmental cycle of the households in which individuals reside.

The two approaches, the "developmental" approach and the "sponsorship" approach, are not contradictory but complementary to each other. Each offers a useful framework for a satisfactory analysis. The differences are merely differences in emphasis.

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#128
591 In the analysis of residence in this paper, a combination of both types of analysis are utilized with some modifications which will allow me to describe the results in terms of the norms of residence and the real patterns or distributions, and to elicit the rules that govern residence choices for individuals. The section deals, therefore, both with techniques and method of analysis, and with particular hypotheses.

Aguacatenango Residence

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The Norms

The people of Aguacatenango believe that a newly married couple should live with the boy's parents until they have proved to be successful in procreating and raising, through the weaning period, one or more children. While the young couple lives within the parental compound of the husband, he should work under the direction of his father, under whose direct authority he should act, and every one of whose decisions he should obey because his father lo está manteniendo (is supporting him), and the son está bajo su poder (is under the father's power).

423 241 417 knows his own parcel and its boundaries, which are sometimes marked with a few stones or a less elaborate fence of a few poles.

241 496 The men that fence the land together cooperate with each other in some other agricultural tasks which require more than two hands (e.g., clearing and burning before planting, cleaning irrigation ditches).

183 591 Stating the norms of residence in anthropological language, we can say that the generalized residence pattern, if it reflects the practice of the norms, should be patrilocal for single and married men, patrilocal for single women, virilocal for married women and parentilocal for children (see Fig. 13, Fischer's Typology).

The Residence Patterns

125 To find out how the ideal rules are carried into practice, we analyzed a sample of sixty-eight households containing an average of five people per unit, and a total of 384 individuals. This sample was gathered by the author in the field, in 1958, and covers half of the village in a chess board pattern of blocks (see charts). The data on the sample is complemented by a previous total census of the village, prepared by the Metzgers and the school teacher in 1956, which covered the whole population of the community, but contained less detailed information on some aspects of residence. Both will be augmented by a sample of life histories contained in the field notes.

128 The data will be presented in tables, and in the text, both in number of cases and in relative percentages. When possible,

128 the postulated correlations between residence and some other factor are tested with simple statistical procedures: Chi Square (applying Yate's correction) with the level of significance. The unit of the population is indicated in each table, together with the sample size.

128 59 183 The norms for residence that we call the generalized pattern are shown to be carried out in practice, by the analysis of census materials. This analysis allows us to display some of the complexities of an elaborate set of residence rules offering certain forms of "first choice of residence," but in addition shows how the norms also offer numerous alternatives for specific cases and particular individual goals and problems.

128 121 This technique of analysis also permits us to control the normative statements about the "customs" and the "ways" of the people, which are provided by the informants. Such statements reflect the ideal patterns, which any member of the community can verbalize. One of the tasks of the anthropologist is to discover those patterns of behavior which are practiced by a society, but not consciously expressed, because they reveal some of the real dynamics of the social group, in a way that formal statements of an ideal nature cannot, when described in isolation. But the anthropologist is also responsible, as Bohannan has pointed out, for presenting his data in such a fashion as to not do violence to the visualization that the carriers of a culture have about their own life models. A presentation of a social model that would be both parsimonious and elegant from a scientific point of view, and close to the ethno-model, is a necessity in a field in

128 121 which epistemological discussions have been, up to the present time, if not totally avoided, dismissed for lack of a single frame of reference within which they could be tackled.

591 [183]

Residence Patterns of Newly Married Individuals in Compound Households

The stated norm of residence for a newly married couple is shown to be followed in practice.

In 1956, there was a total of fifty-six compounds in the community, and forty-eight contained newly married couples. The emphasis on patriwirilocality was strong.

TABLE 6

AGUACATENANGO RESIDENCE: NEWLY MARRIED COUPLES IN COMPOUNDS, 1956

Residence	Number of Couples	Number of Households	Per Cent
Patri-virilocal	47	36	78
Patri-uxorilocal	13	12	22
Total	60	48	100

These compounds represented 27 per cent of the total number of households in the community. Between the censuses of 1956 and 1958, a large number of compound households became nuclear, changed composition or disappeared, and during the same period of two years, other nuclear households became compound. In spite of the movement in individual households, the percentages of residence did not vary significantly.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9 Amatenango Aguacatenango

582 171 richer family marrying a woman of a poorer family" (Tax, 1953: 202). "In only 13 of the 36 cases [reported by Tax] were the two families nearly at the same economic level" (Tax, 1953:203). Also, "exceptional but not uncommon" is that a rich man will marry his daughter to a poorer man and rather than loosing a worker, he gains another. In contrast with Panajachel is the case of Chichicastenango (a neighbor to the north) in that, "the time of women in Chichicastenango has until recently not had cash value. (Increased weaving for the tourist trade may change this.) Therefore, in Chichicastenango as opposed to Panajachel there is encouragement to marry within the same wealth class" (Tax, 1953: 206).

•128 Affective Relations Within the Household

We have shown how some of the relationships within the domestic group are affected by the patterns of economic activity. In this section, we will discuss them in a different context; rather than in terms of interaction, we shall discuss them in terms of sentiment (Homans, 1950).

121 Homans (1950) has shown how intimacy and affection increase with increased association and interaction, but he also indicated that a relationship of formal respect and asymmetrical authority discourages confidence and affective ties (1950:247) or "at any rate, the fact of authority seems to turn the relationship into an ambiguous, or as the psychoanalyst would say, an ambivalent one" (1950:244).

121 593 In both Amatenango and Aguacatenango, this type of ambivalence is present in the father-son relation, as we indicated in

128 593 One would expect, then, that the affective distance between mother and son in Amatenango would be larger. It is unfortunate that this hypothesis cannot be tested at the moment. This author does not have available the relevant information to make the comparison reliable.

593 184 There is evidence, nonetheless, that the sibling bond is different.

In Aguacatenango, the important sibling bond after marriage is only between the siblings who have cooperative tasks to carry [607] out in common: brothers. The relationships of brothers with sisters is respectful and distant, and brothers-in-law are not equated, in behavioral terms, with brothers. Sisters, after marriage, have little chance to see each other, except at fiestas, and they become quite alien to each other.

In Amatenango, on the contrary, the sibling bond is multilateral. Sisters and sisters collaborate with each other, brothers with brothers, and siblings of different sex also do so. Moreover, [607] siblings-in-law are equated with siblings, and they form a complex generational set of group relations.

606 184 A final difference in the affective content of role relations within the domestic group is the mother-in-law-daughter-in-law relations.

606 593 184 In Aguacatenango, there is a striking contrast between the relation mother-daughter and the relation daughter-in-law-mother-in-law. We have discussed extensively how antagonistic and asymmetrical it is. Although the mother has authority over the daughter, she plays (has played) a nurturant role for her, which

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango .
Aguacatenango

127 every Chiapas Highland community, including some highly acculturated towns such as Venustiano Carranza (McQuown et al., 1959).
611

128 Amatenango and Aguacatenango both have patrilineally inherited name groups and other slight indications of the previously
611 hypothesized patrilineal "bent" (e.g., bride-price). Our problem, however, is not to reconstruct a hypothetical past, nor to assess the possibility of a change from patrilineal to something else. In this study, the discussion of the name groups will be carried on in the context of their functions, if any, at the present time.

Functions

If the theory of functional correlations between residence, kinship terminology, marriage customs, exogamy, etc., has any validity, we would suspect that Amatenango, with a domestic group organized along bilateral lines and matri-uxorilocal and viri-patrilocal residence having equal incidence, would not have unilineal descent groups, while Aguacatenango, with patri-virilocal residence and a domestic group organized around a core of agnatically related males would have preserved or have now (if it ever had, a fact which at the present we cannot emphatically support), an organization based on agnatic lineages, or it will show some aspects of a lineal organization outside the realm of the domestic unit.

591 In Amatenango, as suspected, the name groups "are not now
[612] functioning units in the social organization, neither on marriage, inheritance or social control" (Nash, J., 1960:5). Work activities, rituals, participation in community-wide sodality groups or festivities, compadrazgo ties, etc., are carried on by the household

184 621 591 women tend to stay within the neighborhood in which they are born, or, equally, cross territorial lines at marriage.

121 591 To be able to derive these simple rules of residence, we had to take into account some aspects of sponsorship which Fischer did not include in his typology. First, Fischer makes the error of assuming that people make residence choices mainly in terms of kinship, and within kinship, in terms of lineage and lineage sponsors.

We have shown that people make residence choices in terms of both kinship links and economic interdependence, and that among kinsmen, unilinearity is not necessarily the basic criterion for 121 choice. Although Fischer's typology can be very useful in analyzing •128 602 groups in which linearity is strong, such as Aguacatenango, it tends to obscure the analysis of more bilateral groups such as Amatenango.

128 602 591 562 561 571 To make up for this bias in the taxonomy, we had to add three separate criteria for sponsorship: (1) the sex of the sponsor, independently of his lineage affiliation; (2) the generation of the sponsor; (3) the economic role of the sponsor, independently of his or her sex, and independently of his or her kinship connection with the person being sponsored.

184 591 592 At any given time, an individual in Aguacatenango or Amatenango resides in one and only one household, and derives his rights of membership in the unit through kinship or marriage, depending on the importance of his position as a laborer. While in Aguacatenango men derive their membership, as a rule, through descent and women after marriage only through affinality, in

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

000 true for more than the specific case studied by them, and it only discusses one set of domains of the family: socialization and its concomitant psychological variables.

It well could be that some societies seem to emphasize structural arrangements in one domain over the others. The more difficult it is for a society to procure the basic biological needs for food, the more the economic domain can be a primary determinant of organization. The more complex a descent system and the more functions it performs in the political and ritual domains (such as the Hopi), the more kinship would tend to be emphasized by the structural arrangements as viewed by the natives themselves. That does not mean that the anthropologists cannot and should not be able to see the concomitant effects of the other domains. A study of any social group has to be, if it is going to contribute anything to our knowledge of human activity and motivations, a multi-variable analysis. A neat analysis based on a single focus of observation may well be an elegant piece of research, and simultaneously, a biased account of human life.

128 184 I think that my study of two Chiapas villages contributes somewhat to the clarification of several problems which were set forth in the Introduction. (1) It shows, I think conclusively, that social variations in Middle American Indian communities are not only the result of acculturation, but also the result of the 128 delicate internal adjustments of their institutions. (2) It shows 591 that residence is a system of social coalitions to express both 571 kinship and economic interdependency. From the point of view of 602 any one individual and from the point of view of a small group,

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

128 residence changes through time, in a developmental cycle which is
591 the result of the developmental cycle of the domestic group, both
[57] as a kinship unit and as economic centers of village life. (3) It
[602] tries to contribute to the study of residence by showing how a combined methodology, utilizing both Fischer's residence typology and Fortes' developmental cycle analysis, can render more fruitful descriptions than either of the two methods in isolation. (4) It
128 592 shows how a single institution, the household, is affected by the multiple pressures of several alternate social domains, and how its functioning is adjusted and organized in reference to the multivariable social world.

128 I am aware that the study has suffered at times for lack of depth in the analysis of particular data. I have been unable to discuss carefully the implications of the functions of bride-price in the two communities, because I lack sufficiently objective data to support my ideas or disprove them. The same is true for a more careful analysis of the social dynamics of coalitions between siblings and between individuals living outside each domestic unit. Although June Nash's dissertation offers several complete
128 114 127 examples of sibling interaction, and Metzger's field notes have invaluable information in certain kinship roles, I lacked the equivalent materials from the two communities to make a more than superficial comparison.

000 I do not expect, however, this study to be the end of my inquiry into the subject. I propose to continue working in the same area of the world in the future (perhaps in the same

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

Introduction

BEHAVIORAL REGULARITIES in ritual or informal interaction are usually considered the raw material for making structural-functional statements. The descriptive data are used illustratively or may never be included with published material. This monograph describes ritual activity, both elicited and observed. The object is (1) to state the behavioral dimensions of a structural-functional model and (2) to show where social changes are putting stress on that structure.

Ritual events are good occasions for such study because both communally prescribed and individually preferred behavior can be recorded. The expected behavior can be sorted out from the chance since the rules are more explicit than in ordinary interaction. Ceremonial behavior projects in a public performance a given set of status relationships. In doing things as they were done in the past, a theme repeated in prayers and in explanations for actions, people assert continuity of tradition. But just because of this, ceremonies are an occasion for dramatizing social change (Geertz, 1957). Competition between groups and tensions deriving from contradictions which are not apparent in everyday life may be expressed during the ceremony.

I have chosen the rituals of the inauguration of civil and religious officials in the community of Tzo?ontahal, Chiapas, Mexico, because in these performances people act out their techniques for maintaining continuity at the time of change.[1] The inauguration is a rite of passage designed to gain social acceptance of new personnel in a given set of roles. However, as in all ceremonies in this community, the occasion provides the backdrop for the release of latent hostilities. The formal ceremony requires drinking a great deal of the locally distilled liquor, "the gift of the ancestors" that makes fiestas possible.[2] Liquor rids the participants of embarrassment

[1] Field research was supported by a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health which made possible my stay from May to September, 1964, and again in December, 1964. I am grateful to Duane Metzger for providing facilities for working in San Cristobal de las Casas with my informants. Comments by Harold Conklin, Constance Sutton, and David Hunter have helped improve earlier versions.

[2] In a myth concerning the origin of liquor, it is said that the town had no fiestas until Santiago gave the gift of liquor.

[P. 209-A]

some basis for perceiving actions significant to them. 121

Selection in the eliciting session is only partly controlled by the interviewer. The problem is not only to prod the informant for greater specificity, but to structure the recall by such devices as having him draw maps of person-place relations or kinship diagrams so that details will not be lost. As informants gain a sense of the problems being posed, they tend to become self-stimulating in providing information. 124

Finally, the problem of ordering a description of behavior is usually handled most efficiently in a chronological sequence. Simultaneous events can be described in terms of a sequence of activities occurring in different settings. This facilitates the analysis of time and space as designates of role relationships. 121

The analysis in Section 1 deals with the cognitive frame of reference concerning roles and relationships in the civil and religious hierarchies as elicited from informants using the method of formal analysis. Section 2 concerns the behavior in the ritual inaugurations of civil and religious officials in which these role structures are both exemplified and modified. Data are derived from the three sources defined above, i.e., expectations as to what will happen, performances in the past, and observation of the event in process. In Section 3 divergences between elicited and observed schedules (Appendices 1 and 2) are analyzed in terms of their significance for social change. Data derived from "informal" analysis, or unstructured interviewing of informants, are fed into the model. Finally, the behavioral data are summarized in terms of structural functional explanations and in terms of their implications for change. 121 128

[P. 211-B]

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

INFORMANTS' SEGMENTATION of behavior in the inauguration of civil and religious officials is based on responses to questions in Appendices 1 and 2. The description of the activities is organized in

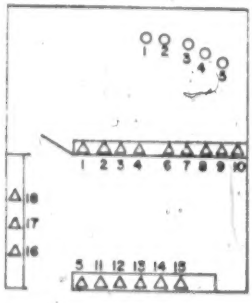

CHART 4 — MORNING, NEW YEAR'S DAY, HOUSE OF FIRST JUDGE (OBSERVED)

WOMEN (circles):
1 Woman speaker *(Me?il K'op)*
2 Second woman *(Sčebal sme?)*
3 Third woman *(Yolebal sme?)*
4, 5 Women *(Me?eletik)*

MEN (triangles):
1-4 Nakawane
5 First judge *(Mam primeró Alkal)*
6 Second judge *(Alkal Sčebal)*
7 Assistant judge of La Grandeza *(Hwes Suplente Bolibal)*
8 Assistant judge of Madronal *(Hwes Suplente Magronal)*
9 Assistant judge of San Caralampio *(Hwes Suplente Sankaralampio)*
10 Assistant judge of San Vicente *(Hwes Suplente San Bisente)*
11 First regidor *(Rehirol Primero)*
12 Second regidor *(Rihirol Sčebal)*
13 Síndico *(Sintiku)*
14 Third regidor *(Rehirol Yolebal)*
15 Fourth regidor *(Réhirol Sčunebal)*
16 *Balnial*
17 Liquor pourer *(P'it Ha?)*
18 *Balnial*

terms of settings and roles. For each segment of behavior an attempt will be made to analyze how the structural relations and values are spelled out in spatial location, mode of address, and activity.

The settings in which the change of civil officials is carried out are (1) the houses of the incoming officials, (2) the townhall, (3) the plaza, and (4) the church. In each arena, the validation and support of

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

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[128]

I SUMMARIZE the evidence offered in the inaugural acts first in terms of a functional analysis of the ceremonial behavior and second in terms of structural and organizational changes revealed in the strategies of interaction. The following goals are attained in the rituals of inauguration:

1. *Preservation of continuity.* In the highland Maya Indian communities the problem of maintaining continuity is crucial because most of the offices

796
794
608
554
533

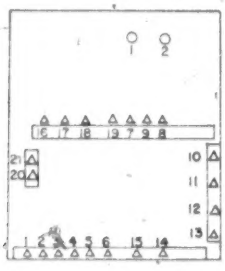

CHART 14 — HOUSE OF THE COFRADE OF SACRAMENTO, FIESTA OF SAN PEDRO SAN PABLO (OBSERVED)

WOMEN (circles):
1 *Me?il K'op*
2 *Sčebal sme?*

MEN (triangles):
16 Cofrade of Sacramento *(Kobraria Sakramentu)*
17 First Nakawane *(Sba Nakawane)*
18 Second Nakawane *(Sčebal Nakawane)*
19 Third Nakawane *(Yolebal Nakawane)*
20, 21 Guitarist *(Balnal Alpultero)*

Remaining numerals refer to role terms listed in Chart 13.

621*
105
794
178
18

are changed simultaneously. The emphasis on continuity is evident, first of all, in the repetition of bodily and verbal performances. Repetitive behavior, the essence of all ritual, provides that fulfillment of expectation which assures participants in a performance of a link with the past. Bunzel (1952, p. 251) has shown that this familiarity of ritual "sets" in a variety of ceremonials provides linkage with the past in the inauguration in Chichicastenango. Repetition in behavior is reinforced by verbal references to perform-

[P. 227 - ?A]